1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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is no possessive pronoun, especially if the substantive is not the first word in the sentence: 193*

Aaōmon, eng-Ai! I pray to thee, O God!

In the word tito (ol-tito, the son; en-dito, the daughter, or the girl), the first *t* is dropped in the feminine vocative case:

Na-ito! O (the) girl!

In one or two rare instances, when the feminine article is *eng*, the vocative case is expressed by *k*:

K-ōgho! O (the) grandmother! (eng-ōgho, the grandmother).
K-onyek! O (the) eyes! ('ng-onyek, the eyes).

The commonest way of addressing an equal is by the use of the word E-iro in the masculine and Na-iro in the feminine. This can best be translated by Friend. 'L-oiye and Na-toiye, *or* Na-figorōyok, are used in the plural. 193* 576 ●

A superior is addressed by the words Le-paiyan! O (the elder)! Le-móruo! O (the) old man! *or* Papa-i! Father-thou! if a man; and by Na-kitok! O (the) big woman! *or* Yēyo! mother! if a woman.

The Genitive.

There are three methods of forming the genitive case in Masai. 193*

The first is employed when the governed word is a substantive (not preceded by the article), a pronoun, or other part of speech; the other two are in connexion with the article.

1. In the first or regular form the word governed follows the governing substantive, being joined to it by the particle *le*, if the nominative is masculine (*li* before *a* and *o*), and *e*, if feminine. This particle does not vary in number. Examples:

Ol-alem le-papa, father's sword.
Eng-aji e-yēyo, mother's hut.
'L-alema le-papa, father's swords.
'Ng-ajijik e-yēyo, mother's huts.
Ol-chore le-pōkin, the friend of all.
E-mōti e-kulle, the milk-pot.
'L-omon li-opa, the news of formerly (i. e. of former times).
'L-omon li-akenya, the news of presently (i. e. of the future).

2. The possessive case in conjunction with the article is usually formed in the following manner:

The substantive in the genitive case follows the governing word, the article of the former drops its vowel, and a particle is interposed

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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301 554 'l-katari too-'ng-aik.

Metii ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae oidim atipikayu 'surutya leme ol-ōata 'n-gera náidipikaki aatumurat, il-muran oo 'ñgorō-yok. Itadua, ol-ōata kunna pôkin eidim atipikayu 'surutya.

Etii sii en-dōki naji ol-masangus, naa 'mōwarak oo-'l-osōhwani oo 'l-ala loo-'l-chañgit sapuki egwetuni metaa sidan.

Mepika ol-móruo lemeata 'n-gīshu kumok oo 'n-gera kumok.

Ore ol-ōata 'n-gīshu kumok oo 'n-gera náiyōlo pôki-tuñgani, eidim atipikayu ol-masangus pe eitaduaya en-gitoo enye.

Etii en-dōki naji e-rap napika 'l-muran, kake epika te-'sidano ake.

rings, called il-giso[1]. They also have chain bracelets.

No Masai elder may wear the earrings called 'surutya unless he has children who have been circumcised and become warriors and women; but he who has grown up children may wear 'surutya.

There is another thing, an armring called ol-masangus, which is cut out of a buffalo horn or an elephant's tusk, and made to look beautiful.

No elder may wear this unless he has large herds of cattle and many children.

He who is well known to possess many head of cattle and also many children may wear this arm-ring as a sign of his wealth.

There is also an arm-clamp called e-rap, which the warriors wear, but they only put this on as an ornament[2].

576 En-girorōkīno oo-'l-Maasae.

Ten etumore ol-murani o likae, nējōki: 'Sōpai.' Neirukisho ol-likae, nējo: 'Hēpa[3].' Ten etumo 'l-muran kumok, nējo: 'Endasōpai 'l-muran,' neirukisho 'l-kulikae, nējo: 'Hēpa.'

Masai salutations.

When one warrior meets another, he says: 'Sopai'; and when several warriors meet, one party says: 'Endasopai, O warriors!' The reply to these greetings is 'Hepa.'

[1] Il-giso (sing. ol-gisoi) is also the word used for rings which young men, women, and children wear. They are made of iron or brass wire, and are frequently worn on the thumb as well as on the four fingers.

[2] A list of the warriors' ornaments, &c., is given on p. 294.

[193] [3] The h is often omitted, and the word pronounced epa or eya.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Naa, ten eiyōuu neikilikwan il-omon le-'n-gop naiñgua,nējo: 'Endōwapu le-'seriani'; araki 'E'nosu le-'seriani.'

Nējo lekwa: ''L-ooleñg ake'; araki, 'E-seriani ake.'

Ten etumore 'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae 'l-paiyani, nemeiter áirorōki, 'l-paiyani ake ooiter áirorōki, nējo, ten aa kumok il-muran: ''L-oiye.'

Nējo 'l-muran: 'Oo.'

Nējo 'l-paiyani: 'Endasōpai.'

Nējo te-nabo-kata pōkin: 'Hēpa.'

Ten eiñgua 'l-muran en-gop nalakwa, pe edol il-paiyani tiaulo, nepwo 'l-muran áibuñg ing-aik, nēun im-berīa enye, nējo 'l-paiyani: 'Ñgasak.'

Ore p' eiñgwekīno, neirorōki 'l-paiyani 'l-muran, nējo; ''L-oiye.'

Nējo 'l-muran: 'Oo.'

Nējo 'l-paiyani: 'Endasōpai.'

Nējo 'l-muran: 'Hēpa.'

Kake etaa en-neirorōkīno taata te-kunna-oloñgi amu ten edol il-muran il-paiyani, neirorōki aajo: 'Endasōpai loopapa-i'; kake 'l-Purko oojo nēja. Ējo 'l-Kisongo ten eirorōki 'l-paiyani: 'Endasōpai, 'l-paiyani kitnak'; araki ējo: 'Endasōpai, le-tasati.'

Ten etumo oopeny, neiro-

Then, if it is desired to ask the news of the country from whence the people come, they are asked: 'Do you bring good tidings?' or 'Do you relate good news?' 576

They reply: 'Only the things which are good,' or simply, 'Good news only.'

When Masai warriors meet old men, the latter start the greetings. If there are many warriors, the old men call to them and say: 'Friends.'

To this the warriors reply: 'Yes.'

The elders then say: 'Endasopai.'

And the warriors answer all together: 'Hepa.'

When warriors come from a distant country and see some elders outside a kraal, they go up to them, and take their hands, at the same time thrusting their spears into the earth. The elders then say to them: 'Greeting.'

When they have dropped one another's hands, the elders say to the warriors: 'Friends,' and the warriors answer: 'Yes.' The elders then give the usual salutation: 'Endasopai,' to which the warriors reply all together: 'Hepa.'

Nowadays, however, the warriors do not wait to be greeted by the elders, and call out 'Endasopai, O ye fathers!' At any rate the so-called El-burgon Masai do this. When the warriors of the Kisongo Masai greet the elders first, they say: 'Endasopai, O elders!' or 'Endasopai, O old people!' [178]

When old people meet one an-

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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rōkīno aajo: 'Endasōpai kullo-ṗaiyani kituak'; araki ējo: 'Endasōpai kullo-móruak.'

Metii ol-murani araki ol-ayōni oitēu atējo: 'Endasō-pai le-móruak,' amu ējōkīni meata eng-anyit.

Ten eirorōki 'l-muran i-ñgorōyok, nējo: 'Endakwenya[1] na-tasati.' Neirukisho 'ñgorō-yok aajo: 'Īghó[2].'

Meitēu 'l-muran aatiaki 'ñgorōyok: 'Endakwenya, na-ñgorōyok,' amu ējōkīni meata eng-anyit.

Il-móruak ake oojōki 'ñgo-rōyok enye: 'Endakwenya, na-ñgorōyok.'

Ten eirorōki 'ñgorōyok il-muran araki 'l-ayok, nējo: 'Endakwenya, na-ghera.'

Neirukisho: 'Īghó.'

Ten eirorōki 'l-muran i-ñgo-rōyok o-'l-aji lenye, nējo: 'Endakwenya, na-kituak.'

Neirukisho: 'Īghó.'

Ten eirorōki 'l-muran 'n-doiye, nējo: 'Endasōpai, na-toiye.'

Neirukisho: 'Hēpa.'

Naa nēja ējo 'n-doiye ten eirorōki 'l-muran.

Mējōki en-dito ol-alashe: 'Sōpai,' nemējōki ol-murani eng-anashe: 'Sōpai'; kake ējōki: 'Takwenya.' Neñgututa sii kulikae.

other, they say: 'Endasopai, O ye elders!' or 'Endasopai, O ye husbands!'

No warrior or boy would dare to say: 'Endasopai, O husbands!' for he would be told he is wanting in respect.

When warriors meet married women, they say: 'Endakwenya, O old ladies!' to which the women reply, 'Igho.'

No warrior would dare to say to married women: 'Endakwenya, O wives!' for it would be said that he was wanting in respect.

It is only the old men who may say to their wives: 'Endakwenya, O wives!'

When married women greet warriors or boys, they say: 'Enda-kwenya, O children!' And the warrior or boy replies: 'Igho.'

When warriors greet married women of their own clan, they say: 'Endakwenya, O great ladies!'

To this the women reply: 'Igho.'

Warriors greet girls by saying: 'Endasopai, O girls!'

The girls reply, 'Hepa.'

The same words are spoken when girls greet warriors.

A girl does not say 'Sopai,' to her brother, nor does a warrior greet his sister in this fashion: they say 'Takwenya.' Some also kiss one another.

[1] It has been repeatedly stated that the greeting takwenya (pl. endakwenya) means laugh. Laugh is, however, strictly speaking, takwenia (pl. endakweni).

[2] Īghó is meaningless in Masai, but igó in Bari means go away (imp.).

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Eidim ol-murani atiaki eng-anashe kiti neitu eñgēnu: 'Sōpai.'

Ten eñgasaki 'n-gera kutiti araki 'l-ayok bōtoro 'l-tuñganak kituak, meibuñg 'ng-aik, kake epwo aañgasaki too-'l-lughuny áitoosh ing-omomite enye álo 'sararuani loo-'l-tuñganak kituak.

Ten eñgutut e-ñgorōyōni kitok en-gerai kiti, nēosh inna te-'ng-omom enye ol-goo e-'ñgorōyōni, nējo e-ñgorōyōni: 'Ñgasak.'

A warrior might, however, say 576
'Sopai' to his sister if she is quite young.

When small children or even big boys greet their elders, they do not take their hands, but they butt them with their heads, striking the old people with their foreheads in the pit of the stomach.

If a woman kisses a small child, the latter touches her breast with its face. The woman then says: 'Greeting.'

En-gipuñgoto.

Tenelool-Maasani 'ng-añgite oo-'l-Maasae, ore p' eiyōu nerinyo en-gop enye, nenapa.

Ore p' eidip atanapayu, nējo: 'Aiya naa, amu etaa alo.'

Nējo 'l-oopeny eng-añg: 'Aiya naa, sere! Toomonoi eng-Ai! I'nepu ake naaserian! Tapaashare 'l-mōdook!'

Neitōki lido ōlo nējo: 'Endepetai 'n-aishi oo kulle!' Nejō 'l-oopeny eng-añg: 'Esai.'

Nelo ol-omoni en-gop enye.

Departure.

If a Masai has paid a visit to 574
some friends, and wishes to return 576
home, he ties up his things.

When he is ready, he says: 'Well, I am about to go.'

The owners of the kraal reply: 'All right! Good-bye. Pray to God, accost only the things which are safe, and meet nobody but blind people.'

The guest then says: 'Lie down with honey-wine and milk,' to which the owners of the kraal reply: 'So be it.'

After this the stranger is at liberty to depart to his own country.

N-giragat.

Ten elool-Maasani 'ng-añgite oo-'l-Maasae, ore pe ebaya eng-añg, nemejiñg eng-aji neme en-naiyōlo ōshi-ake, amu ten a ol-

Hospitality.

When a Masai goes to other kraals 574
to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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514 576 201 Ten eñgasaki 'n-gera kutiti 'l-tuñganak tasati naleñg, nenotaki 'ng-amulak il-tasati, nējōki: 'Mikitajapa eng-Aī.'

Naa, ten eñgasaki 'l-muran il-tuñganak kituak, nenotaki kulikae-kituak ing-amulak ing-aik.

821 514 789 Naa, ten edol ol-Maasani en-dōki neitu ae-oloñg edol, anaa ol-akira ōdōyo, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'I'usho! imḅira 'l-mañgati!' nējo sii: 'Telekwaki.'

514 789 [551] [763] Ore sii ten eríkīno, neipot il-meneñga araki eng-arna o-'l-tuñgani ōtua, nenotaa 'ng-amulak. Ore sii ten eniñg il-omon torok injere etua ol-tuñgani ōje, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, nējo: 'I'usho, eng-Aī, mikiatá 'n-giyaa.'

514 179 Ore p' eiter aapwōnu 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, pe edol il-Maasae, nenotaa 'ng-amulak, amu etējo: 'Eitu kidól il-tuñganak anaa kullo.' Nēji sii: ''L-oibonok kituak kullo-tuñganak.' Ore pe ṗik ol-Aisungui ol-tuñgani ol-chani, nējōki ol-tuñgani: 'Tonotakaki 'ng-amulak p' aishiu.' Nēji eng-arna 'l-Ōjuju amu eata 'l-ṗapit kumok.

If small children salute very old men[1], the latter spit on them, and say: 'May God give you long life and grey hairs like mine!'

Then, when warriors greet old men[2], the latter frequently spit in their hands before allowing the young men to grasp them.

If a Masai sees something phenomenal, such as a shooting star, he spits several times and says: 'Be lost! go in the direction of the enemy!' after which he says: 'Stay away from me.'

Again, should he forget, and call somebody who is dead, or mention the name of a deceased person, he spits. Should he hear any bad news, such as the death of some person, he spits, and says: 'Be lost, O God, we have no ears.'

When the Europeans came to these countries and the Masai saw them for the first time, they used to spit, for they said: 'We have never seen people like these.' They also called them medicine-men, and if a European gave a Masai medicine, the latter asked him to spit on him to heal him. Europeans were formerly called 'L-Ojuju owing to their being hairy.

[1] *Vide* p. 287.

[191] [113] [2] It is customary amongst the Bari people for old men (fathers or grandfathers) to take children's heads between their knees and spit slightly on them to bless them (Mitterrutzner, *Die Sprache der Bari*, p. xvi).

[3] *Vide* p. 284.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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torono. Il-kunōno ooiyama oopeny.

Ten eibuñg ol-Maasani endōki naibuñga duo ol-kunōni, anaa em-ḅere, anaa ol-alem, nepik e-ilata eng-aina, amu ǰo torono ten eibuñg te-'ng-aina ake.

Meata sii 'l-kunōno 'n-gīshu kumok anaa 'l-kulikae-Maasae; meinosare 'n-gīshu. Tin idol ol-kunōni ōata 'n-gīshu artam, naa kumok naleñg.

Eata 'l-kunōno o-rorei lenye ol-loo 'l-Maasae, kake eitawal; lemeniñg il-Maasae. Mme pōkin ooata, e-matwa ake naata.

is not considered correct. The smiths marry amongst themselves. 326 564

If a Masai takes in his hand a spear or sword or other thing which a smith has held, he first of all oils his hand for it is considered improper for him to take it in his bare hand. [576]

The smiths are not rich in cattle like other Masai. They have no luck with cattle. If you find one possessing forty head, it is a very large number. [233]

The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it. [198]

'Mōtīo oo 'l-ṗukurto.

Eidim i-ñgorōyok oo-'l-Maasae kulye áitobira 'mōtīo; nemeidim kulye, neinyañgu ake too-'l-meek.

Einyañgu sii 'l-ṗukurto, araki etum too-'miñgan.

Eidim aatimir en-gine áinosye e-mōti nabo.

Ore ten eitobir' il-Maasae 'mōtīo, neitobir' in-gituak oo 'n-gutiti, nepik pōkin ingumeshi p' eibuñgye ten edōtu.

Ten epwo 'l-muran aayeñgisho, nepik en-gāne pe etum áibuñga.

Earthenware pots and gourds.

Some Masai women are able to make earthenware pots; others who are unable to make them buy them from savages. 323 [439]

Gourds are also bought, or they are collected in the deserted kraals. [415]

One pot can be purchased for a goat. [435]

When the Masai make pots they make them in two sizes, big and small; these pots are also provided with handles [1] by which they can be picked up.

When warriors go to the woods to slaughter cattle, they carry their cooking-pots by a strip of hide fastened to the handles [2]. [482] [237]

[1] Lit. nostrils. [2] For illustrations see Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, p. 89.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Before dealing with the subsequent procedure, after a girl has promised to visit a warrior on a given night, it is necessary to outline the sleeping arrangements and accommodation in a *manyatta* hut. The hut is not divided off into rooms in any way, and at one end of the hut is the bed upon which the woman (mother of one of the warriors) to whom the hut belongs, sleeps with her younger children. At the other end of the hut, not screened off in any way, is the bed upon which the warriors and girls sleep. No warrior may ever sleep upon the married woman's bed, but the woman's husband can come down and visit her whenever he likes, and when he does so, no warriors or girls may sleep in the hut. Ordinarily, however, the woman's husband does not live at the *manyatta*, and she and her small children sleep on her bed at the one end of the hut, while the warriors sleep on the bed at the other end of the hut with the girls. No warrior ever sleeps in his own mother's hut, but always in one of the other huts if he has invited a girl to sleep the night with him. When, therefore, he has arranged for a girl to visit him at night he goes in the evening to one of the other huts and arranges to sleep on the young people's bed there. He then sends a message by the woman who owns the hut to tell the girl that he is sleeping there so that she may come to him. There is absolutely no objection to several men coming in this way to the same hut, and sleeping on the same big bed each accompanied by his girl. In fact, it is considered wrong for a warrior and a girl to have sexual intercourse unless there are also other couples sleeping on the same bed. Moreover, besides those men who have come to the hut and sent for their girls to join them there, there are usually several younger girls, daughters of the woman who owns the hut, sleeping on the bed too. These young girls, too young as yet to sleep with the men sexually, nevertheless, sleep on the same bed as the warriors and older girls, and thus grow up steeped in the customs of the *manyatta*.

It is exceptionally difficult for a European to understand all the full details and facts concerning native sex life, but the following facts have been noted and verified for the Masai. No girl may sleep with a man except she be absolutely nude, but on the other hand, although by tradition and by etiquette she may not refuse an invitation to sleep with a man (except for the two reasons already given above), she is not necessarily expected to allow him full sexual intercourse, and, in fact, often does not do so. Thus—strange as it may seem—Masai girls do sometimes go to their husbands as virgins in the physical sense of the word (*see* Marriage), although they may have slept with men in the *manyattas* countless times. Usually, however, Masai girls have no objection to full intercourse except during the first four or five days after each menstrual period (*see* Girlhood), for the Masai firmly believe that conception cannot occur unless intercourse takes place very soon after menstruation, and four to five days is considered an absolutely safe margin. Moreover, this belief seems to have a strong foundation in fact, and it thus raises a very interesting point for physiologists as to whether this is as true of primitive peoples as it

999 It is lucky to see a fish eagle (*ol korpellis*) sitting on a tree if it is facing the observer. It is unlucky to see a single wild pig, but lucky if a number of pigs cross the path from left to right in front of the traveller.

There are several other superstitions, but they seem to be held in little, if any, more importance than most of our own, *e.g.* seeing the new moon through glass, encountering magpies, spitting when a hare crosses one's path, etc.

514 576 *Spitting* is a greeting and brings good luck. One is asked to spit on a new-born baby. I have sometimes been spat on in a similar way by very old men and women—a somewhat trying ordeal which had to be patiently endured. Moreover, a Masai may spit on his palm before shaking hands in order to give an exceptionally warm greeting. It is then etiquette to follow his example.

173 *History.*—The Masai have little historical tradition. Some of it is given in Hollis, pp. 266–273. They are said to have come from a place in the North called by them *Endigir* a hundred generations (of 15 years each) ago. The generation names from the present time, working backwards as far as they are remembered, are:—*Il Twati, Il Talala, 'L Aimer, Il Nyangusi, Il Twati, Il Kidotu, I Merishare, Il Tiegi, Il Salaash*, and *Il Meshopo*. Those before this have been forgotten. When they left Endigir there were no *Laibons*, so the elders arranged about the ceremonies. The warrior and age-group system was already in being, having been instituted by Naiteru Kop (*see* Hollis, p. 266). The customs of group marriage and of free love between the warriors and the girls were also in existence.

There were four tribes in Endigir—the Masai, the Dorobo, the Kikuyu and the Il Kunono (smiths). God gave the cattle to the Masai and the wild beasts to the Dorobo. He told the Kikuyu to go to the mountains and the place of many rivers and to eat grass. He gave iron to the smiths and provided them with stones to beat it with. These four tribes were all friends together.

262 *Restrictions as to Food.*—Besides those mentioned above as applying to warriors and junior elders, the following apply to all Masai:—

They must not eat the flesh of wild animals.

They must not drink milk soon after eating meat.

Women must not be seen eating meat or drinking milk by men of their husband's generation.

805 *Months and Days.*—The Masai divide the year into the following months:—

Ol Adeolo. Meaning unknown

Or'at = Grass in the hollows. (About February.)

O Ānyi Oing'ok = When the bulls are tied up.

Ol o Doyoerie ol o Ingokwa = When the Pleiades are in the West.

Ol o Olepunyi Ingokwa = When the Pleiades are in the East.

Ol Guju Orok = The short black bristles. So called because it is the month of ceremonies, and therefore heads are shaved.

According to Hollis, p.275,
/xvi cont./ the Pleiades are only six stars among
821 the Masai, likewise in the pictorial representations of South Arabian
171 tomb inscriptions (in contrast to the seven circles of the Babylonian
174 Nergal symbol); the name of the bearer of the religious tradition
192 of the Masai, el-kiboron, coincides strikingly with the expression for priest, kabîr, in the old Minaean inscriptions of Yemen (2).

• [576]

2. Quite remarkable also is the correspondence of the Masai custom that when one is inside with her he plants his spear in front of the hut so that another will not enter (Merker, p. 109 and p. 158) with the similar custom among the southern Arabs (here only staff instead of spear) given by Strabo (Book 16). -- Also that the "speaker" stands at the head of the warriors is reminiscent of South Arabia (cf. kail, chief, actually speaker, as well as saijid, "master," probably has the same etymology, cf. Syrian sewîd, speech).

192 The specifically Ethiopian word dengel, "virgin" (originally prob-
197 ably "young woman" in general), is the same as the Masai en-
194 dangile, "young woman" (after the circumcision); tongs, el-garamet, is the Arabic el-kullâbat, and cowbell, eng-gurugur, the Arabic al-gulgul, en-abere, spear, perhaps the Arabic el-ibra, needle. The name of the liana species mogongora, from which the Masai take a fragrant wood for therapeutic purposes (Merker, p. 27 and cf. p. 196, ol-magirigirieni, a vanilla-scented perfume), is very reminiscent of the South Arabian name for frankincense, mugr, just as in general the reiteration of the second half of a word, popular among the Masai (for example, gadardar, a /xvii/ tree name, airaîarai, a shrub), is likewise in turn a peculiarity of Ethiopian, where it is used especially for the formation of color names (warakrîk, gold-green = Hebrew jerakrak, hamalmîl, green, but also dabarbîr, backlike = hill, and the Tigre plant names gondefdafe, endufduf, amferfaro, and handugdug). All these
[114] are definite traces that make Merker's naming of the Masai as an originally Semitic and then, more specifically, an Arabian people seem fully justified.

175
791
[765]
[232]
[173]
[787]
[648]

/21 cont./

recovery from their pains. Mbatyan eamed outstanding merit through the discovery of a protective vaccination against lung disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zendeo and four old Masai, Mbatyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of rinderpest that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the Masai by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of one eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly gray full beard.

[826]
[302]

That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol oiboni nor the el goiatek and el kiboron mentioned farther below may pluck out their beards, because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hairs.

791
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[361]
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The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the ol oiboni with his numerous wives. Mbatyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zendeo has only 20 of them. No strange man may enter these dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (el dunganak oirorie ol oiboni) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, on the marches of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbatyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

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791 • 576 609 rises, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends his hand to him, whereby, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

791 789 [262] [173] In the way of food, the ol oiboni takes only goat liver roasted on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these arts very little is supposed to have been handed down to his son Lemana and still less to Zendeo, through which it is all the more explicable that the /22/ Masai today tell of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that Mbatyan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his attendant, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

756 [613] From the Ilɛ́ gidoɔ̀ lineage there are further supplied, as has already been mentioned, the sorcerers or medicine men (ol goiatiki, el goiatek), several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The [789] most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war medicine, the ol goiatiki does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

613 [776] The lineage of the Il kiboɔ̀n of the Il mɛ́lɛ́ljan tribe, who, according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by 'Ng ai, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion.

613 159 Corresponding to their position with 'Ng ai, they are distinguished by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they thereby seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

/41 cont./

601 The grandfather designates the grandson as ḳ ainja.

/42/ The grandmother designates the grandson as ɔ́ gwasi ɔ́ gwasi ɔ́, that is, child of my child.

Father-in-law: ɔ́ ainjani laj.

Mother-in-law: ɛ́ŋg ainjani ɛ́.

Brother of wife: ɔ́ ainjani or ɔ́ ainche ɔ 'ŋgwanjoŋ.

Sister of wife: ɔ́ ainji ɔ́ or ɛ́ŋg ainche ɔ 'ŋgwanjoŋ ɔ́.

Wife of one's brother: ɔ' ŋgwanjoŋ ɔ́ ainche laj.

Wife of the half brother: ɔ́ ainji ɔ́.

Different ones of these designations are terms of address among relatives, with the exception of the ones for father and mother, who

551 are addressed as baba or ɓiɓi. Most terms of address by far are formed from names for animal species: if one has given the one concerned a gift of a bull, one calls him b-ainji, from ɔ́ ainji, the bull; after the gift of an ox or a cow, ba-'gwaŋ or ba-'gwaŋ (ɔ́ gwaŋ, the ox; ɔ́ gwaŋ, the cow; 'ŋgwaŋ, the meat) of a heifer, ba-'s daŋ (from ɔ́ daŋ) of a calf, ba-ache or ba-he (from ɔ́ or ɛ́ŋg ache) for a donkey, ba-ŋgiria (ɔ́ ŋgiria, the donkey), for a male calf, ba-mɔ́ŋ, for a buck goat or sheep, ba-mɔ́ŋgwaŋ, for a mother sheep, ba-ŋɔ, for a she-goat or sheep, ba-ndaŋ; for a she-goat, ba-ŋjaŋ; for a female sheep or female goat that has not yet had young, ba-ndaŋ; for a kid or lamb, ba-leja, for twin lambs or kids, ba-mɔɔ (1).

1. ɛ́ mɔɔ, the twin.

551 With all these designations may be addressed: the brother by the
• 576 brother, the half brother by the half brother, and -- if the one
(601) addressing and the one addressed are the same age -- the father's brother, the son of the father's brother, the son of the father's sister, the son of the mother's brother, the son of the mother's sister, the son of the brother, the son of the sister. Male individuals who are close friends and the same age also use these terms of address, as soon as they have given each other the first head of livestock. The later gift of a head of livestock of another kind does not alter the form of address.

561 /aa/ to enjoy, to the end of his life, respect and esteem based on his life's experience and his father- or fatherlike-position, which he occupies in relation to his immediate and more extended sphere.

A female individual, until her circumcision, is regarded as a girl (en dîrî, n dîîje), is called es sîbeli (pl. es sîbelio) during the circumcision, until the healing of the wound; after that she is first called e sîngîki (pl. sîngîkin), after the beginning of the menopause 'n skitwa (pl. n skitwa) or en dadgîle (pl. n dadgîlêe), the latter term also often used formerly instead of e' ngorojoni = married woman, whereas now one only rarely hears it with this meaning. As soon as her head hair turns gray, she is called Koko = old woman.

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Ill. 21. Men and woman with child.

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The connections between age grade and social position are to be discussed later. Here there are to be discussed first of all the terms of address that are customary between members of the same age grade and of different age grades and -- if an injury or insult is not intended -- must be used.

/68 cont./

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The terms of address between male individuals:

ol aijoni to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol barnoti to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol morâni to ol móruo: ol bayan,
ol móruo to ol móruo: ol móruo.

/69/

ol aijoni to ol morâni: lé morâni,
ol barnoti to ol morâni: êrô,
ol morâni to ol morâni: êrô,
ol móruo to ol morâni: 'l aijoni.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 22. Older men.

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Merker phot.

Ill. 23. Masai girls from the child to the young woman.

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ol aijoni to ol barnoti: lɛ́ moráni.
ol barnoti to ol barnoti: ɛ́rō.
ol moráni to ol barnoti: ɛ́rō, if slight age difference,
ol moráni to ol barnoti: ol barnoti, if greater age difference,
ol móruo to ol barnoti: 'l aijoni.

/70/

ol aijoni to ol aijoni: ɛ́rō,
ol barnoti to ol aijoni: ɛ́rō,
ol moráni to ol aijoni: 'l aijoni,
ol móruo to ol aijoni: 'l aijoni.

Merker phot.

Ill. 24. Mother with children.

The terms of address between female individuals:

[291] →

en díto to koko: koko,
es siɛ́ŋgiki to koko: jɛ́jo (= mother) or koko,
koko to koko: eŋg aini ai, which means that the husbands on both sides belong to the same ol bɔrɔ̄r or ol adji.
en díto to es siɛ́ŋgiki: n akitok,
es siɛ́ŋgiki to es siɛ́ŋgiki: 'siɛ́ŋgiki, if only slight age difference,
es siɛ́ŋgiki to es siɛ́ŋgiki: jɛ́jo, if greater age difference,
koko to es siɛ́ŋgiki: na gerai (= child).

en díto to en díto: nairo,
es siɛ́ŋgiki to en díto: na gerai,
koko to en díto: na gerai or na gerai ai (= my child).

The terms of address between male and female individuals:

ol aijoni to koko: koko or jɛ́jo,
ol barnoti to koko: koko, jɛ́jo or 'n akitok,
ol moráni to koko: koko, jɛ́jo or 'n akitok,
ol móruo to koko: e' ŋgorojoni, if slight age difference,
ol móruo to koko: koko or 'n akitok if greater age difference.

/70 cont./

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ol aijoni to es siɛ̃ŋgiki: 'n akitok,
ol barnoti to es siɛ̃ŋgiki: 'n akitok,
ol morâni to es siɛ̃ŋgiki: 'n akitok,
ol mŏruo to es siɛ̃ŋgiki: e' ŋgorojoni.

ol aijoni to en dĭtŏ: nairo, if slight age difference,
ol aijoni to en dĭtŏ: naito, if former is considerably younger,
ol barnoti to en dĭtŏ: nairo,
ol morâni to en dĭtŏ: nairo,
ol mŏruo to en dĭtŏ: na gerai.

en dĭtŏ to ol aijoni: ĕrō, if only slight age difference,
en dĭtŏ to ol aijoni: 'l aijoni, if greater age difference, in which case the girl usually calls mockingly 'n ŋguini = pygmy, little man,
es siɛ̃ŋgiki to ol aijoni: ĕrō or 'l aijoni, if slight age difference,
es siɛ̃ŋgiki to ol aijoni: na gerai, if the latter is considerably younger,
koko to ol aijoni: na gerai or na gerai ai.

/71/

en dĭtŏ to ol barnoti: ol barnoti, if slight age difference,
en dĭtŏ to ol barnoti: lĕ morâni, if the latter is considerably older,
es siɛ̃ŋgiki to ol barnoti: ol barnoti, if slight age difference,
es siɛ̃ŋgiki to ol barnoti: na gerai, if the latter is considerably younger,
koko to ol barnoti: na gerai or na gerai ai.

en dĭtŏ to ol morâni: lĕ morâni,
es siɛ̃ŋgiki to ol morâni: name, if slight age difference,
es siɛ̃ŋgiki to ol morâni: na gerai, if the latter is considerably younger,
koko to ol morâni: na gerai or na gerai ai.

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• 576 en dito to ol móruot bábă,
es siẽngiki to ol móruot bábă, or ol móruo, if the latter is almost the same age as her husband,
koko to ol móruot ol móruo.

[572] Friends often address each other with ol djore lai or ol jerai = my friend.

Instead of the address term 'n akitok, an ol barnoti or an ol morĩni says to an es siẽngiki whom he has known from childhood 'siẽngiki or es siẽngiki, whereas an ol móruo in the same case uses the address term naito. The term of address "'n akitok" for an es siẽngiki is more polite than "siẽngiki," the latter used toward a strange es siẽngiki would be downright impertinent and rude (1).

1. In places the term es siẽngiki also has the meaning "married woman"; thus, at different times I heard a young woman call out coldly to one not entitled to use this designation when he used it: "I am not your es siẽngiki."

The obsolete term address en dagile, used for 'n akitok, is often regarded nowadays as affectedly polite.

[601 65 431] The terms of address required by kinship or livestock-gift take precedence over the above.

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722 while he was imploring 'Ng ai that he might join together as securely
782 as this knot their body and soul. He prays in similar fashion every morning after leaving the hut. The mother likewise prays to God for protection for her son and each time offers him some milk, which she squirts on the ground either out of a gourd bottle or out of her
722 right breast. The girls are somewhat more cheerful about the affair, in that, instead of other prayers, they accompany their dances with litanies for the preservation of their lovers and the many other loved ones. Today the worrisome thoughts are again particularly intense; the warriors must soon be coming home, and then it will be definite as to whether the son or lover is among them.

727 From afar one already sees isolated little clouds of dust, which the cattle that are driven along stir up. The girls and young women hasten to meet the El móran and warmly welcome all who are approaching. But what is this? There, among the laughing women, stands a young woman who has just kissed her brother heartily on both cheeks; now comes her husband, who still wanted to take part in this one expedition before he remains at home permanently as an old ol móruo, and one would expect at least as hearty a welcome for him. But both act as though they did not see each other, indeed, they even turn away from each other. One might think she is angry with him because he staked his life unnecessarily. She is not angry with him, however; on the contrary, she is secretly happy that he has come back safely
[576] and is bringing along rich booty. But the Masai too /100/ have their
[593] "good breeding" and this requires that married people upon first seeing each other again after an expedition of war, cut each other completely.

From his share of the booty the warrior keeps only one or two milch cows, which he hands over to his loved one. The rest he presents to the mother, the father, the latter's other wives, the brothers, sisters, and one or another of his more distant relatives of whom he is particularly fond. A person who does not receive anything this
[721] time will get his share after the next expedition. He need not wait long, wars follow one another quickly, the interval between two is seldom more than two or three months. Hence the Masai are a veritable scourge for the neighboring tribes, and the rumor, "The Masai are coming," in spite of its frequency, is often enough to disturb whole towns and villages for weeks.

/105/

XII.

000 Greeting. -- Form and manner of the greeting between individuals of different age and sex. -- Greeting formulas. -- Greeting for visitors. -- Farewells. -- Conversation. -- Invectives. -- Terms of endearment.

• 576 The greeting begins with a certain gesture, four of which are distinguished:

1. the simple extending of the hand, whereby the vertically held palms of the right hand of both touch (mutual);
2. the same, after one has previously spat in the palm or has at least made the gesture for it (mutual);
3. the head greeting, in which the greeter bends the head and with the crown touches the chest or abdomen of the person greeted (unilateral);
4. the embrace with kiss on both cheeks (unilateral).

Both the gestures and the following words of greeting differ according to the age and sex of the participants. We must therefore consider the individual possibilities of the series.

With participants of the same sex, the older one begins the greeting; with different sex, the man; with the encounter of a woman with a boy, the former. The simple hand-extending is customary among youths, warriors, married men and married women, both among themselves and among one another, further for young girls and children among themselves.

If the greeting is supposed to be particularly heartfelt, because the ones greeting each other are either very close friends or have not seen each other for a long time, there is spitting in the hand before the hand-extending.

At the moment of the hand-extending the man calls out ɔlɛlɛ, the woman ńǎsǎk.

If the man is carrying something in his right hand, he puts it into the left one before the hand-extending, even though he is already holding something else in this one. Men are always carrying something in the right hand, the youth and warrior the spear, the married man bow or stick; the woman, on the other hand, only in a single case: when she delivers the honey to be paid as bride price -- we

/105 cont./

• 576 have seen that the bridegroom sends this by one of his wives, his mother, older sister, or wife of his brother -- she carries the vessel with the honey on her back in the apron and, in her right hand, a stick (of a married man), on which she leans, as though to show that the gift brought is large and heavy.

Children and young girls give the head greeting to all adults, as does a young married woman (es siẽ̆ngiki) to the warrior or married man who is older than she and related to her or a close friend. During the head greeting the greeter says nothing, while the one greeted answers the greeting with one word: a man says to a boy ɔ̃lɛ̃lɛ̃, to a girl ɲăsắk; the woman to boy and girl, ɲăsắk.

/106/ Since the head greeting is a declaration of respect that is made to an older individual or one of higher standing, here, of course, the younger person begins the greeting. A combination of head greeting and hand extending, say, in the manner that the one bent the head, the other extended the hand, does not occur.

The embrace with kiss on both cheeks is always found for twin brothers and sisters frequently also for brothers and sisters in general, often times for own brothers and sisters, more rarely for half brothers and sisters. Furthermore, grandparents embrace and kiss their grandchildren, aunts their nephews and nieces, more rarely mothers their children, but in these cases only as long as the ones embraced are still in childhood. The embrace itself is not accompanied by any word of greeting. If one of the persons embracing is obliged to give the head greeting, this follows the embrace. If aunt and niece, for example, greet each other, the former embraces and kisses the girl, whereupon the latter, with bowed head, touches the chest of her aunt, and the latter at the same time calls out ɲăsắk.

The gesture is followed by an address. Acquaintances call out the name of the one greeted or, if they are closer to each other, refer to the father of the one greeted, for example, era Mtarĩn, which means son of Mtarĩn. Relatives use the term of address applying to them given above. For persons who do not know each other, the address is determined by the sex and age of the participants. For boys, youths, and married men the address is the same and runs, to one, ɛ̆ro or airo (contracted from arairo = friend), to several, loijé, which, as has

/106 cont./

576 been said, the older one says. One warrior addresses another with ol morĭni, several with el mŏran, whereby it also should be noted that this address is not placed before, but after the actual word of greeting, which is to be discussed later. Girls are addressed with natoje (sing. nairo, feminine form of ero or airo). A young woman is addressed by boys, youths, and warriors with n akitok (n akitwa), by married men, on the other hand, with es tiĕngiki. For old women all use the term of address koko. Married men and women address children of both sexes with na gerá = children (sing. eñ gerai = child).

The address is followed by a reply, which, spoken by a man runs ɛ̄, by a woman ɛ̄ɛ̄.

Greeting word and return-greeting word form the conclusion. Male individuals greet each other with sŏwai, whereupon ĕwă follows as return-greeting, as is done by young girls who live in the warrior kraal and young women who have recently left it. Otherwise female individuals greet each other among themselves, as well as men with women, with tăkwĕnja, return-greeting ĭko. Just as also when a woman greets a boy, the greeting runs: she says tăkwĕnja, the boy replies ĭko. If the greeting is directed to several persons, one puts ĕnda before sŏwai and en before tăkwĕnja, thus ĕnda sŏwai and en tăkwĕnja. Finally it is still to be mentioned that the greeter, if he is faced with several persons, one of whom he greets in particular, he appends to the address, in case this /107/ does not contain either the name of the greeted or the name of his father or a kinship term of address, one of the following pronouns: ĕlde (sing., masc.), guldă (pl., masc.), endă (sing., fem.), gună (pl., fem.), which mean roughly "you /sing./ there" or "you /pl./ there."

As a recapitulation of the preceding the following formulas result:

Greeter:	accompanying word, address handshake		greeting
Greeted:	accompanying word,	reply	return greeting
Greeter:	head greeting,	reply	return greeting
Greeted:	accompanying word, address		greeting

/107 cont./

• 576 Greeter: embrace, accompanying, address

Greeted: head greeting reply

Examples:

ol móruo: ɔ̈lĕlĕ ĕrō sɔ̈wai
to handshake
ol móruo: ɔ̈lĕlĕ ɛ̈ ĕwă

ol móruo: ɔ̈lĕlĕ er 'ɛ̈lde sɔ̈wai
to handshake
ol móruo: ɔ̈lĕlĕ ɛ̈ ĕwă
(who stands with several others)

en dĭtŏ: head greeting ɡ̈ɔ̄ ĺko
to
ol morăni: ñăsăk nairo tăkwĕnja

small boy: head greeting ɛ̈ ĺko
married woman: ñăsăk na gerai tăkwĕnja

small nephew: head greeting ɛ̈ ĺko
aunt: embrace hasăk tăkwĕnja

ol morăni: ɔ̈lĕlĕ lĕ morăni sɔ̈wai
to handshake
ol morăni: ɔ̈lĕlĕ ɛ̈ ĕwă

ol morăni: to each: ɔ̈lĕlĕ, to all: loijé guldɛ̈ mɔ́ran enda sɔ̈wai
to a few of many handshake
el mɔ́ram: each: ɔ̈lĕlĕ all: ɛ̈ ĕwă

older woman: to each: ñăsăk, to all: na gera en tăkwĕnja
to several small boys: each: head greeting ɛ̈ ĺko

/108/

576 521 [203] A brief conversation in which news is exchanged is added to the greeting as a rule. This explains how even in the barren steppes any news spreads with great speed. If strangers meet, the older man first questions the younger one, or the man the woman, about name, origin, etc. The first question always runs: "Where do you come from?" To this is added the following: era enia 'n gischomi = to what tribe, era enia ol gelata kitok = to what principal lineage, era enia ol gelat' ate = to what sublineage do you belong? It is further asked: eñ ai menje = who is your father, eñ ai notonji = who is your mother, and kẽdja eñ garnaino = what is your name? The one asked readily gives an answer, but generally does not question the other one; on the contrary he goes on without knowing with whom he spoke. Good breeding demands this.

576 574 [201] If a stranger comes to a kraal whose owner he does not know, as a rule he asks one of the children playing in front. The reply then runs: My father (baba), and to the question who that might be, the little one looks at him astonished and asks: "Do you not know my father then?" To the further question as to where he might be, the child points to a hut in which it surmises the father to be. Only small children may point with the finger in the direction of a married man; older ones and adults indicate the direction by turning the heads toward it and at the same time slightly pushing out the lower jaw or the lips or even their tongues. If the stranger has sought out the hut of the old man, he squats in front of it and waits until its owner comes out of his own accord or is called out by one of his people. Now he first questions the guest in the same way as at an encounter and then calls one of his wives or one of his children to bring milk. The gourd bottle is first handed to the host so that he can make sure it is generously filled. He then hands it on to the guest. When the latter has emptied it he is asked whether he would like still more; to answer in the negative would be an offense against good breeding. Hospitality is discussed in another place; it is only to be mentioned that the guest need not express any request. Though it is expected of him that he will feel quite at home, one nevertheless still specially offers him everything available.

/108 cont./

• 576 When an acquaintance wants to enter the hut, he calls -- corresponding to our knock -- "eh opĕn eñg adji" = female owner of the hut, whereupon from inside, like "Come in!" comes the answer, "ja na ijŏk" = "we are here." Thanks for a favor shown or a gift is hardly ever customary, only very rarely does one hear the [201] word ĭschĕ = thanks. A request is refused in that one "warns off" with the hand, the palm of which is turned toward the one making the request.

The farewell runs "aija amalo" if one person is going away, "aija amerda/109/kipo" if several take their leave, and means "I am going" or "we are going." It is used similarly by all people and only by uncircumcised children is not accompanied by the handshake. A friend taking his leave is requested to remain longer with "milo" = 521 "do not go." In conversation with their kind the Masai are very talkative. The warriors among themselves relate old and new war adventures, which are presented with lively gestures and in exaggerated embellishment. Usually a fellow tribesman or lineage member plays the leading role in it; the enemy is always cowardly or lets himself be outwitted. Together with the young girls, the conversation soon becomes unrestrained and launches into racy witticisms and bold jokes. In the kraal of the married, men and women sit in separate groups. The former speak quietly and often in subdued voices about memories of their youth, stock raising, etc.; the latter, on the other hand, laughing and with extraordinary glibness of tongue, converse about gossipy tales in which some slur is cast on Mr. or Mrs. So-and-So. But let it be said to the credit of the Masai that their gossip is childish and harmless. One does not find malicious scandalmongers of either sex among the Masai and probably not among the other so-called primitive peoples. They rather seem to be an attendant [157] phenomenon of a higher level of culture. In accordance with the lively, impulsive nature and especially also the abnormal irascibility of the younger men, one very often hears coarse and bantering invectives. Their coarseness probably sufficiently explains the peculiar [576] ethics of the Masai. Crude invectives may not be used by women toward men.

/152 cont./

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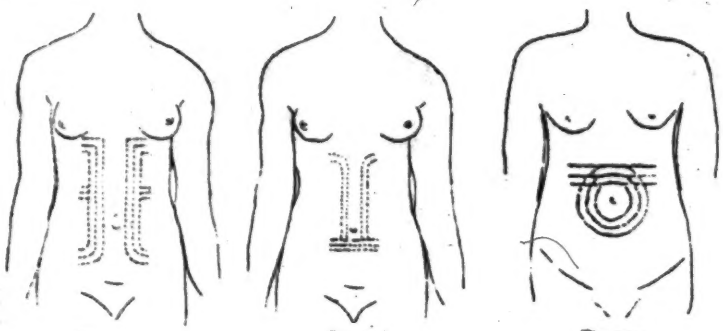

Fig. 72e. Fig. 72f. Fig. 72g.

The two middle lower incisors of boys and girls are loosened by pressure with a knife and then removed with the hand, /153/ and, to be sure, either in childhood or also in connection with the change of teeth. Most often given as the reason for this was "so that in drinking milk and honey beer one can spit in a long stream through the gap in the teeth (em bŭátă)," which is part of good breeding. This is, of course, not the real reason, this rather seems to have

[514] [576]

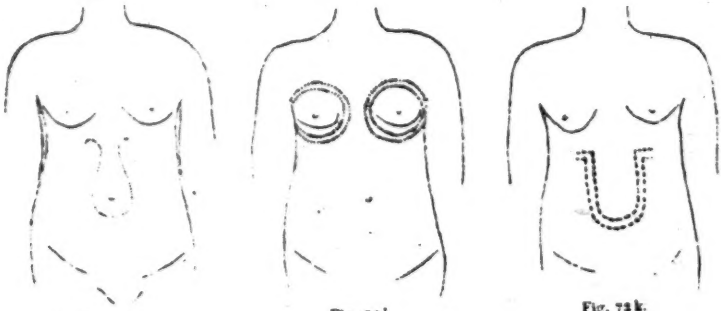

Fig. 72h. Fig. 72i. Fig. 72k.

302 fallen into oblivion. Fingernails are worn rather long and, if they become too long, are bitten off, not cut off. The pieces bitten off are thrown away. The toenails are not cut; they wear off sufficiently in walking, etc.